

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 H-02 INR-07 PRS-01 PM-03

L-03 /044 R

DRAFTED BY EA/K:JDFORBES-EA/P:ASWIFT:CHG

APPROVED BY EA - MR HABIB

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R 260005Z JUN 75

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY MANILA

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STADIS//////////

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, KS, PH

SUBJECT:FRASER HEARINGS - TESTIMONY OF ASSISTANT

SECRETARY HABIB

1. HEARINGS OF FRASER SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES AND U.S. POLICY ENDED JUNE 24 WITH TWO HOUR APPEARANCE OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB AS DEPARTMENT WITNESS. TEXT OF HABIB STATEMENT FORWARDED SEPTEL. HEARING WAS VERY WELL ATTENDED BY PRESS AND PUBLIC. CONGRESSMEN FRASER, DERWINSKI, WOLFF AND SOLARZ WERE PRESENT.

2. MAJORITY OF QUESTIONS CONCERNED U.S. SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH KOREA. FRASER ASKED IF THERE WAS IMMINENT THREAT OF NORTH KOREAN ATTACK. HABIB ANSWERED THAT AS RESULT REPEATED U.S. PUBLIC STATEMENTS NORTH KOREA

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SHOULD HAVE NO DOUBT OF CONSEQUENCES OF ANY MILITARY

ADVENTURES. U.S. HAS NO REASON TO BELIEVE NORTH KOREA WILL ATTACK ROK SOON. HABIB AGREED WITH FRASER THAT ROKG SEEKS TO KEEP NORTH KOREAN THREAT IN PUBLIC EYE AND HAS PUBLICLY CITED THREAT AS JUSTIFICATION FOR EMERGENCY MEASURES. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION ON ROK INTERNAL COHESION, HABIB STATED THERE NO REASON AT PRESENT TO

BELIEVE THERE ANY WEAKENING OF DETERMINATION OF ALL KOREANS TO RESIST NORTH KOREAN ATTACK. IN ADDITION, GREAT MAJORITY OF KOREANS SUPPORT PRESENT SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WITH U.S. FRASER ASKED VIEWS ON LONG-TERM RISKS OF CONTINUED REPRESSION. HABIB ANSWERED THAT U.S. DOES NOT PREFER GOVERNMENTS WHICH ARE RE-PRESSIVE BUT MUST KEEP OUR BROAD INTEREST IN PREVENTING HOSTILITIES IN KOREA IN MIND.

3. DERWINSKI ASKED WHY ROKG SHOULD TRUST U.S. SECURITY ASSURANCES. HABIB ANSWERED U.S. COMMITMENT SHOULD BE CREDIBLE NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF USG STATEMENTS OF REASSURANCE BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF GENERAL U.S. PRESS AND CONGRESSIONAL COMMENT SUPPORTING OUR SECURITY ROLE IN KOREA AND RECENT HARRIS POLL. U.S. CREDIBILITY IS ALSO ENHANCED BY PRESENCE OF US FORCES AND CONTINUED MILITARY ASSISTANCE. CONGRESSIONAL ACTION TO END ASSISTANCE WOULD CALL INTO QUESTION FUNDAMENTAL U.S. COMMITMENT.

4. SOLARZ QUESTIONED HABIB AT LENGTH ABOUT ROK SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITY, CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH US-ROK MUTUAL DEFENSE TREATY COULD BE ABROGATED, USG REACTION TO NORTH KOREAN ATTACK AND GENERAL EFFECT IN ASIA OF NORTH KOREAN VICTORY OVER ROK. HABIB DEFENDED PRESENT POLICIES AS HAVING EFFECTIVELY DETERRED NORTH KOREAN AGGRESSION FOR OVER TWENTY YEARS. IN EVENT OF NORTH KOREAN ATTACK, ADMINISTRATION WOULD ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH U.S. LAW. MODERNIZATION PLAN ENVISAGES STRENGTHENING ROK AIR AND NAVAL WEAKNESSES; WHEN ROK CAPABLE OF DETERRING NORTH KOREA BY ITSELF, U.S. CAN CONSIDER GRADUAL FORCE REDUCTIONS. NORTH KOREAN VICTORY OVER ROK WOULD HAVE SERIOUS DESTABILIZING CONSEQUENCES ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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JAPAN AND ASIA AS A WHOLE.

5. HABIB AGREED WITH SOLARZ THAT US PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING IS ESSENTIAL FOR A SUCCESSFUL POLICY OF DETERRENCE IN KOREA AND STATED THAT, SINCE CONGRESS HAD RATIFIED OUR DEFENSE COMMITMENT, IT IS RESPONSIBILITY OF CONGRESS TO ABROGATE TREATY IF IT FEELS COMMITMENT NO LONGER VALID. HOWEVER, ABROGATION WOULD RAISE SERIOUS QUES-

TIONS ABOUT OUR TREATY COMMITMENTS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES.  
AS GENERAL PRINCIPLE, US SHOULD MAINTAIN TREATY OBLIGATIONS WHICH CONTINUE TO SERVE BASIC U.S. INTERESTS.  
IN KOREAN CASE, OUR DEFENSE TREATY HAS PROVED ITS  
DETERRENT VALUE.

6. SOLARZ EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER EFFECT OF REPRESSION  
IN KOREA ON WILLINGNESS OF US PUBLIC TO SUPPORT US COMBAT INVOLVEMENT IN DEFENSE OF DICTATORIAL GOVERNMENT.  
HABIB ANSWERED THAT QUESTION OF RELATIONSHIP OF US  
WITH AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENTS AND MANNER IN WHICH  
US CAN EFFECT CHANGE IN INTERNAL POLICIES OF THESE  
COUNTRIES IS DIFFICULT PROBLEM WHICH WILL BE WITH US  
FOR SOME TIME. USG HAS ASSURED THAT ROKG FULLY  
UNDERSTANDS CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS. WE HAVE MADE IT  
CLEAR TO ROKG THAT WE PREFER MOVEMENT IN DIRECTION OF  
DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND RESPECT FOR  
INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF HUMAN RIGHTS. HOWEVER, WHILE  
WE CAN MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN WE CANNOT FORCE THEM ON  
OTHER COUNTRIES.

7. WOLFF ASKED HABIB TO DETAIL USG APPROACHES TO ROKG  
AND GOP ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. HABIB DECLINED ON  
GROUNDS SENSITIVE DIPLOMATIC CONVERSATIONS SHOULD NOT  
BE PUBLICIZED BUT UNDERTOOK TO SUBMIT LIST OF USG  
PUBLIC STATEMENTS FOR THE RECORD. HE POINTED OUT THAT  
WHILE OTHER GOVERNMENTS LISTEN CAREFULLY TO OUR  
APPROACHES WE ARE NEVER CERTAIN OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH  
OUR VIEWS ARE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

8. THE PHILIPPINES RECEIVED SCANT ATTENTION IN QUESTION  
AND ANSWER PERIOD; CONGRESSMAN FRASER ONLY REFERRED TO  
PHILIPPINES IN STATEMENTS ALSO DEALING WITH KOREA.  
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CONGRESSMAN DERWINSKI QUESTIONED HABIB BRIEFLY ON PRC  
AND USSR AID TO INSURGENCY IN THE PHILIPPINES AND  
ALSO ASKED IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY INDICATION MARCOS  
INTENDED TO REESTABLISH CONSTITUTIONAL INSTITUTIONS.  
HABIB REPLIED THAT WHILE NO TARGET DATE HAD BEEN SET,  
HE THOUGHT THERE HAD BEEN PUBLIC GOP STATEMENTS THAT  
MARCOS INTENDS EVENTUALLY TO RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONAL  
RULE. HABIB ALSO TOLD DERWINSKI THAT SPECULATION MRS.  
MARCOS WOULD SUCCEED HER HUSBAND WAS PURELY RUMOR.  
CONGRESSMAN WOLFF ASKED WHY U.S. HAD NOT MADE STATEMENT  
CONDEMNING PHILIPPINE MARTIAL LAW, AS WAS DONE IN  
KOREA, AND IF HE WOULD DO SO IN FUTURE. HABIB REPLIED  
THAT TWO SITUATIONS WERE DIFFERENT. HE WAS AMBASSADOR  
TO KOREA AT THE TIME, THUS DID NOT KNOW PHIL CASE FROM  
PERSONAL EXPERIENCE, AND WOULD NOT SPECULATE ON FUTURE

ACTIONS IN THIS RESPECT.

9. IN CONCLUDING REMARKS, FRASER EXPRESSED VIEW THAT US SECURITY INTERESTS IN KOREA AND PHILIPPINES ARE MARGINAL. US HAS LIMITED INFLUENCE ON INTERNAL AFFAIRS IN THESE COUNTRIES. KOREANS MUST SOLVE THEIR OWN

PROBLEMS. HE WOULD FIND IT VERY HARD TO JUSTIFY US COMBAT INVOLVEMENT IN DEFENSE PRESENT ROKG AND URGED DISENGAGEMENT. FRASER STATED THAT IN BOTH KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES THERE HAS BEEN A SHARP CURTAILMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ASKED HOW USG CAN EVALUATE EFFECTIVENESS OF US HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. HABIB REPLIED THAT WE BELIEVE ROKG AND GOP DO PAY ATTENTION TO OUR VIEWS. THERE HAS BEEN A CYCLICAL PATTERN TO REPRESSION IN ROK, SUGGESTING THAT ADVERSE US REACTIONS HAVE PRECEDED PERIODS OF RELAXATION OF CONTROLS. FRASER STATED HE SAW NO CHANGE IN US RELATIONS WITH ROKG OR GOP AND IS STILL LOOKING FOR VISIBLE DEMONSTRATIONS OF USG CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION.

10. FRASER INDICATED HE HAD FURTHER WRITTEN QUESTIONS ON THE PHILIPPINES WHICH HE WILL SUBMIT TO DEPARTMENT.

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** HUMAN RIGHTS, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 26 JUN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975STATE150333  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** EA/P:ASWIFT:CHG  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750220-1049  
**From:** STATE  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750613/aaaaalgs.tel  
**Line Count:** 193  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ORIGIN EA  
**Original Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** KelleyW0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 16 JUL 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <16 JUL 2003 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <19 NOV 2003 by KelleyW0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
06 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RASER HEARINGS - TESTIMONY OF ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB  
**TAGS:** PFOR, KS, RP, (FRASER, DONALD M), (HABIB, PHILIP C)  
**To:** SEOUL MANILA  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006